

# The Philanthropist.

JAMES G. BIRNEY, EDITOR.

We are verily guilty concerning our brother \*\*\* therefore, is this distress come upon us.

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## THE PHILANTHROPIST

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### Slavery.

From Essays on the Principles of Morality—by the late Jonathan Dymond, [of the Society of Friends.]

At a future day, it will probably become a subject of wonder, how it could have happened that upon such a subject as slavery, men could have inquired and examined and debated, year after year; and that many years actually passed before the minds of a nation were so fully convinced of its enormity, and of their consequent duty to abolish it, as to suppress it to the utmost of their power. I say this will probably be a subject of wonder; because the question is so simple that he who simply applies the requisitions of the moral law, finds no time for reasoning or doubt. The question, as soon as it is proposed, is decided. How then, it will be asked in future days, could a Christian legislature argue and contend, and contend and argue again; and allow an age to pass without deciding?

The cause is, that men do not agree as to the rule of decision—as to the test by which the question should be examined. One talks of the rights to property—one of the interests of merchants—one of safety—one of policy: all which are valid and proper considerations; but they are not the primary consideration. The first question is, Is slavery right? Is it consistent with the moral law? This question is in practice postponed to others, even by some who theoretically acknowledge its primary claim; and when to the indistinct principles, if there is added the want of principle in others, it is easy to account for the delay and opposition with which the advocate of simple rectitude is met.

To him who examines slavery by the standard to which all questions of human duty should be referred, the task of deciding, we say, is short. Whether it is consistent with the Christian law for one man to keep another in bondage without his consent, and to compel him to labor for that other's advantage, admits of no more doubt than whether two and two make four. It were humiliating, then, to set about the proof that the slave system is incompatible with Christianity; because no man questions its incompatibility who knows what Christianity is, and what it requires. Unhappily, some who can estimate, with tolerable precision, the duties of morality upon other subjects, contemplate this through a veil—a veil which habit has suspended before them, and which is dense enough to intercept the moral features of slavery as they are presented to others who examine it without an intervening medium, and with no other light than the light of truth. To these, the best counsel that we can offer is to simplify their reasoning—to recur to first principles; and first principles are few. Look, then, at the foundation of all the relative duties of man—Benevolence—Love—that love and benevolence which is the fulfilling of the moral law—that "charity" which prompts to actions of kindness, and tenderness, and fellow-feeling for all men. Does he who seizes a person in Guinea, and drags him shrieking to a vessel, practice this benevolence? When three or four hundred slaves have been thus seized, does he who chains them together in a suffocating hold, practice this benevolence? When they have reached another shore, does he who gives money to the first for his victims—keeps them as his property—and compels them to labor for his profit, practice this benevolence? Would either of these persons think, if their relative situations were exchanged with the African's, that the African used them kindly and justly? No. Then the question is decided: Christianity condemns the system; and no further inquiry about rectitude remains. The question is as distinctly settled as when a man commits a burglary, it is distinctly certain that he has violated the law.

But of the flagitiousness of the system in the view of Christianity, its defenders are themselves aware—for they tell us, if not with decency, at least with openness, that Christianity must be excluded from the inquiry. What does this exclusion imply? Obviously, that the advocates of slavery are conscious that Christianity condemns it. They take her away from the judgment-seat, because they know she will pronounce a verdict against them. Does the reader desire more than this? Here is the evidence, both of enemies and of friends, that the moral law of God condemns the slave system. If, therefore, we are Christians, the question is not merely decided, but confessedly decided: and what more do we ask?

It is, to be sure, a curious thing, that they who affirm that they are Christians, will not have their conduct examined by the Christian law; and while they baptize their children, and kneel at the communion-table, tell us that with one of the greatest questions of practical morality, our religion has no concern.

Two reasons induce the writer to confine himself, upon this subject, to little more than the exhibition of fundamental principles; first, that the details of the slavery question are already laid, in unnumbered publications, before the public; and secondly, that he does not think it will long remain, at least in this country, a subject for discussion. That the system will, so far as the British government is concerned, not in distant future be abolished, appears nearly certain; and he is unwilling to fill the pages of a book of general morality with discussions which, in many years have passed, may possess no relevance to the affairs of the Christian world.

Yet one remark is offered as to a subordinate means of estimating the goodness or badness of a cause—that which consists in referring to the principles upon which each party reasons, to the general spirit, to the tone and temper of the disputants. Now I am free to confess, that if I had never heard an argument against slavery, I should find, in the writings of its defenders, satisfactory evidence that their cause is bad. So true is this, that if at any time I needed peculiarly to impress myself with the flagitiousness of the system, I should take up the book of a determined advocate. There I find the most unequivocal of all testimony against it—that which is unwillingly furnished by its advocates. There I find, first, that the fundamental principles of morality are given to the winds; that the proper foundation of the reasoning is rejected and ridiculed.—There I find that the temper and dispositions which are wont to influence the advocate of a good cause, are scarcely to be found; and that those which usually characterize a bad one, continually appear: and therefore, even setting aside inaccurate statements and fallacious reasonings, I am assured, from the general character of the defence, and conduct of the defenders, that the system is radically vicious and bad.

The distinctions which are made between the original robbery in Africa, and the purchase, the inheritance, or the "breeding" of slaves in the colonies, do not at all respect the kind of immorality that attaches to the whole system. They respect nothing but the degree. The man who

wounds and robs another on the highway, is a more atrocious offender, than he who plunders a hen-roost; but he is not more truly an offender, he is not more certainly a violator of the law. And so with the slave system. He who drags a wretched man from his family in Africa, is a more flagitious transgressor than he who merely compels the African to labor for his own advantage; but the transgression, the immorality, is as real and certain in one case as in the other. He who had no right to steal the African can have none to sell him. From him who is known to have no right to sell, another can have no right to buy or to possess. Sale, or gift, or legacy, imparts no right to me, because the seller, or giver, or bequeather had none himself. The sufferer has just as valid a claim to liberty at my hands, as at the hands of the ruffian who first dragged him from his home. Every hour of every day, the present possessor is guilty of injustice. Nor is the case altered with respect to those who are born on a man's estate. The parents were never the landholder's property, and therefore the child is not. Nay, if the parents had been rightfully slaves, it would not justify me in making slaves of their children. No man has a right to make a child a slave, but himself. What are our sentiments upon kindred subjects? What do we think of the justice of the Persian system, by which, when a state offender is put to death, his brothers and his children are killed or mutilated, too? Or, to come nearer to the point, as well as nearer home, what should we say of a law which enacted that of every criminal who was sentenced to labor for life, all the children should be sentenced to labor also? And yet if there is any comparison of reasonableness, it seems to be in one respect in favor of the culprit. He is condemned to slavery for his crimes—the African, for another man's profit.

That any human being, who has not forfeited his liberty by his crimes, has a right to be free—and that whoever forcibly withholds liberty from an innocent man, robs him of his right, and violates the moral law, are truths which no man would dispute or doubt, if custom had not obscured our perceptions, or if wickedness did not prompt us to close our eyes.

The whole system is essentially and radically bad: injustice and oppression are its fundamental principles. What, then, can be requisite in speaking of the agent, none should be shown, none should be expressed for the act. I do not affirm or imagine that every slaveholder is therefore a wicked man; but if he be not, it is only upon the score of ignorance. If he is exempt from the guilt of violating the moral law, it is only because he does not perceive what it requires. Let us leave the *deserts* of the individual to Him who knoweth the heart: of his actions we may speak; and we should speak in the language of reprobation, disgust, and abhorrence.

Although it could be shown that the slave system is expedient, it would not affect the question whether it ought to be maintained: yet it is remarkable, that it is shown to be impolitic as well as bad. We are not violating the moral law, because it fills our pockets. We injure ourselves by our own transgressions. The slave system is a costly iniquity, both to the nation and to individual men. It is a matter of great satisfaction, that this is known and proved: and yet it is just what, antecedently to inquiry, we should have reason to expect. The truth furnishes one addition to the many evidences, that even with respect to temporal affairs, that which is right is commonly politic; and it ought therefore to furnish additional inducements to a fearless conformity of conduct, private and public, to the moral law.

It is quite evident that our slave system will be abolished, and that its supporters will hereafter be regarded with the same public feelings, as he who was an advocate of the slave-trade is now. How is it that legislators, or that public men, are so indifferent to their fame? Who would not be willing that biography should record of him—*This man defended the slave-trade*? The time will come when the record—*This man opposed the abolition of slavery*—will occasion a great deduction from the public estimate of worth of character. When both these atrocities are abolished, and but for the page of history forgotten, that page will make a wide difference between those who aided the abolition and those who obstructed it. The one will be ranked among the Howards that are departed, and the other among those who, in ignorance or in guilt, have employed their little day in inflicting misery upon mankind.

### African Mind.

We make no apology for treating our readers to the following rich article on the equality of the races. It is taken from a work entitled "America," by the author of "Europe."

"The example of Hayti has been, upon the whole, of a nature to encourage the friends of humanity, with regard to the capacity of the black race, for self-government and the arts and habits of civilized life. There are no facts, so far at least as I am acquainted with the subject, which authorize the conclusion, that any one of the several varieties of our race, is either intellectually or morally inferior or superior to the rest; and there are certainly enough that attest the contrary. Each great division of the species has had in its turn, the advantage in civilization, that is, in industry, wealth, and knowledge, and the power they confer. And during this period of conscious triumph, each has doubtless been inclined to regard itself as a favored race, endowed by nature and Providence with an essential superiority over all the others. But, on reviewing the course of history, we find this accidental difference disappearing after awhile, and the sceptre of civilization passing from the hands of the supposed superior race, into those of some other before inferior, which claims in its turn, for awhile, a similar distinction. As respects the immediate question, it would seem, from even a slight examination, that the blacks (whether of African or Asiatic origin) have not only a fair right to be considered as naturally equal to men of any other color, but are even not without some plausible pretensions to a claim of superiority. At the present day, they are doubtless, as far as we have any knowledge of them, much inferior to the whites, and have been so for several centuries. But at more than one preceding period, they have been for a length of time, at the head of civilization and political power, and must be regarded as the real authors of most of the arts and sciences which give us at present the advantage over them. While Greece and Rome were yet barbarous, we find the light of learning and improvement emanating from this, by supposition, degraded and accursed continent of Africa, out of the very midst of this woolly-haired, flat-nosed, thick-lipped, coal-black race, which some persons are tempted to station at a pretty low intermediate point between men and monkeys. It is to Egypt, if to any nation, that we must look as the real *antiqua mater* of the ancient and modern refinement of Europe. The colonies that civilized Greece, the founders of Argos, Athens, Delphi, &c. came from Egypt, and for centuries afterwards, their descendants constantly returned to Egypt as the source and centre of civiliza-

tion. There it was, that the generous and stirring spirits of those days, Pythagoras, Homer, Solon, Herodotus, Plato and the rest, made their noble journeys of intellectual and moral discovery, as ours now make them in England, France, Germany, and Italy.

The great lawgiver of the Jews was prepared for his divine mission, by a course of instruction in all the wisdom of the Egyptians. But Egypt, as we know from Herodotus, who travelled there, was peopled at that time by a black race, with woolly hair; and the historian adds, in the same passage, that these physical qualities were also proper to so many other nations, that they hardly formed a distinction. It appears, in fact, that the whole south of Asia, and north of Africa were then possessed by a number of powerful, polished, and civilized communities of kindred origin, differing among themselves in some of their outward conformation, but all black. Ethiopia, a country of which the history is almost entirely shrouded in the night of ages, and of which we know little or nothing, except that it must have been in its day, a seat of high civilization and great power—probably the fountain of the improvement of Egypt and Western Asia, was inhabited by blacks. It then comprehended the country on both sides of the Red Sea, whence the Ethiopians are said, by Homer, to be divided into two parts.

The great Assyrian empires of Babylon and Nineveh, hardly less illustrious than Egypt, in arts and arms, were founded by Ethiopian colonies, and peopled by blacks. Hence it was doubtful at a time when the historical traditions of these countries had become a little obscure, whether the famous black Prince Memnon, who served among the auxiliaries on the side of Troy at the siege of that city by the Greeks, was a native of Babylon, or Ethiopia proper, and he was claimed as a citizen in both these places. Strabo tells us that the whole of Assyria south of Mount Taurus (including, besides Babylon and Nineveh—Phoenicia, Tyre and all Arabia) was inhabited by blacks; but there seems to have been some mixture of whites amongst them, for the Jews fall within this region, and the Arabs of the present day, although dark, can hardly be called black.

These, like the Medes and Persians, who were also white, were probably colonies of the white Syrians, described by the same author, as dwelling beyond Mount Taurus, which had emigrated to the south. But Palestine or Canaan, before its conquest by the Jews, is represented in scripture, as well as other histories, as peopled by blacks; and hence it follows, that Tyre and her colony Carthage, the most industrious, wealthy, and polished states of their time, were of this color. In these swarthy regions, were first promulgated the three religions which have exercised the strongest influence on the fortunes of the world; two of which we receive as divine revelations; and as far as human agency was concerned in it, we must look to Egypt as the original fountain of our faith, which, though developed and completed in the New Testament, reposes on the basis of the Old.

This consideration alone, should suffice with Christians, to rescue the black race and the continent they inhabit, from any suspicion of inferiority. It appears, in short, that this race, from the period immediately following the deluge, down to the conquest of Assyria and Egypt by the Persians, and the fall of Carthage, enjoyed a decided preponderance throughout the whole western world.

It is true, that after thus leading the march of civilization for about 2000 years in succession, maturing the profound and solid wisdom of Egypt, founding the splendid and transitory fabric of Greek refinement, and assisting in the first communication of our holy faith; after inventing and carrying to a high degree of perfection, almost all the arts and sciences of which we are now so proud; after covering the banks of the Ganges, the Euphrates and the Nile, with miracles of power and skill, which not only have never been surpassed or equalled, but of which at present we can hardly conceive the possibility; after modelling their civil and political institutions with such a masterly insight into human nature as to fix, through them, probably forever, the stamp of their peculiar genius on the social organization of the world; after affecting all this, it is true they began to fall before the rising greatness of their own accomplished and vigorous pupils, and have been \*\*\* declining ever since, until at last they sunk below the level of the whites, where they have remained, as far as we have any knowledge of their condition, for several centuries past. This inferiority is likely enough to continue, and it is perhaps as improbable (though not more so) that the black race will ever revive the wonders of Egypt and Babylon, as that Greece will rear Examinondas again, or the bees of Hymettus cluster in our time on the infant lips of another Plato. Nations and races, like individuals have their day, and seldom have a second. The blacks had a long and glorious one; and after what they have been and done, it argues not so much a mistaken theory, as sheer ignorance of the most notorious historical facts, to pretend that they are naturally inferior to the whites. It would seem, indeed, as I have hinted before, that if any race have a right to claim a sort of preeminence over others, on the fair and honorable ground of talents displayed and benefits conferred, it is precisely this very one which we take upon us, in the pride of a temporary superiority, to stamp with the brand of essential degradation. It is hardly necessary to add, that while the blacks were the leading race in civilization and political power, there was no prejudice amongst the whites against their color. We find, on the contrary, that the early Greeks regarded them as a superior variety of their species, not only in intellectual and moral qualities, but in outward appearance. "The Ethiopians," says Herodotus, "surpass all other men in longevity, stature and personal beauty." The high estimation in which they were held, for wisdom and virtue, is strikingly shown by the mythological fable current among the ancient Greeks, and repeatedly alluded to by Homer, which represented the Gods as going annually in a body to make a long visit to the Ethiopians. Their absence upon this excursion is the reason given by Thetis to her son Achilles, in the first book of the Iliad, for not laying his complaints at once before the highest authority. "Jupiter," she tells him, "set off yesterday, attended by all the Gods, on a journey towards the ocean, to feast with the excellent Ethiopians, and is not expected back at Olympus, till the twelfth day."

This was an honor which does not appear to have been bestowed upon any other nation."

Notwithstanding the present general inferiority of the Africans, we find even now, that the high intellectual spirit that once flashed out so finely in their sunburnt climes, is not wholly quenched. Major Denham, in his late volume of travels, has presented us with several specimens of contemporary African poetry, which are hardly inferior to the sweet and lofty strains of the ancient monarch minstrel. The dirge of the Fezzaneers in honor of their chief, Eoo-Kaloon, will bear a comparison with the lamentation of David over Saul and Jonathan. \* \* \* An extempore love song, of which the Major has inserted a translation, unites the tenderness and purity of the Canticles, with something of the delicacy of the imagery that distinguishes the poetry of Moore. The triumphal ode of the Shiek of Bornou, written by himself upon his return from a victorious expedition against the Begharmies, is still more remarkable and may fairly be considered as poetry of the first order. If such a thing were to be produced by one of the reigning sovereigns of Europe, at the present day, we should not hear the last of it for twenty years. \* \* \*

Of the actual state of the negro nations that inhabit the interior of Africa, we know little or nothing, until the late travels of Major Denham, excepting that we, civilized Christians, had purchased and made slaves of a considerable number of persons belonging to them, and that these persons thus kidnapped and reduced to slavery, appeared to us, who did not understand their languages, and could not of course converse with them, as a degraded and stupid race of men, incapable of writing epic poems, commanding armies, enlarging the limits of science, or superintending the government of a country.

It is needless to add, that this reasoning proved the stupidity and degradation of those who thought it satisfactory and not of the Africans."

### Sketches of Hayti.

A brief review of the principal circumstances connected with the Emancipation of the Haytiens.

The circumstances connected with the deliverance of the negro population of St. Domingo from slavery, have been related with great exactness and impartiality. But at the present time, when the subject of general emancipation excites universal interest, it may be proper to review the principal transactions which led to so important an event; as by this means we shall be enabled to determine the causes, not only of the expulsion of the French from their richest and most extensive colony, but of the cruelties and barbarities which the Haytiens are said to have perpetrated during their struggle for liberty and independence.

While the most violent measures were adopted in France, to overthrow the established government, the planters of St. Domingo, did not look on in silence, and the National Assembly, in requiring a more equal representation of the people, tacitly acknowledged that the colonies ought to have a voice in the legislature, before the observance of its decrees could be justly enforced. The colonists themselves perceiving this, determined to seize the advantages which it offered. They selected their deputies, formed their colonial assemblies, and proceeded to establish a new constitution for the internal government of the island. This constitution, when published, sufficiently showed that nothing short of their independence of the mother country was the object at which they aimed. Among the motives which led them to form this resolution, was the decree of the National Assembly, which declared that "all men are born and continue free and equal as to their rights." This declaration, they interpreted as tacitly recommending the emancipation of their slaves; and fearing the effects it might produce, when known to the mulattoes and negroes, they considered it necessary, for the security of their privileges and property, to take the government of the colony into their own hands.

It is unnecessary to detail the commotions which now commenced in the Island—the opposition of the royalists and revolutionists to each others' plans—the violent measures pursued by each party—and the disgraceful transactions which followed. It is sufficient to observe that they created the greatest ferment throughout the colony, in which all classes, the slaves not excepted, largely partook.

As early as the commencement of these contentions among the planters and the colonial government, a society had been formed in France denominated *Amis des Noirs*, composed chiefly of those who afterwards took a leading part in the French revolution, (Girou, La Fayette, and Robespierre, were among its principal members,) and of the mulattoes who were at that time resident in the French capital. Their professed object was to effect the emancipation of the slaves; because, they said, they were assured that these unfortunate beings possessed a right to liberty as indisputable as their own.

One of the first steps of this society was, to recommend Ogee, a mulatto of St. Domingo, at that time at Paris, to return to the Island, with a view of making preparations for the execution of their intentions—having previously procured him the rank of Lieutenant Colonel, in the army of one of the German electors. In the meantime, the mulattoes urged their claims, and demanded the full benefits and privileges of the whites. But the planters and the colonial assembly, fearing it would be dangerous, in the present state of their own affairs, to accede to this demand, endeavored to evade it by promises of future benefits and privileges. Such was the state of things with regard to the planters, and the colored population, when Ogee arrived in the Island.

The effects produced on the negroes, by the contentions among the French residents, the proceedings of the mulattoes, and the exertions of the *Amis des Noirs*, were such as might have been easily foreseen. And when they learnt from Ogee and his assistants, that steps were being taken to effect their speedy emancipation; and were urged, by motives which few in their circumstances could have resisted, to exert themselves in their own behalf—receiving at the same time promises of assistance and support; nothing was more natural than their determination to escape from the yoke under which they groaned, and to assert their right to liberty and independence.

The mulattoes, perceiving that, notwithstanding the decrees of the national assembly, and the promises of the colonists, their privileges were still withheld, determined at length to secure them by force of arms—the negroes also, having formed their plans, lost no time in commencing their operations; and both parties united in attacking their common oppressors, and in asserting and maintaining their common rights. Accommodation soon became impossible. The French would offer no terms, nor comply with the most just demands. The negroes had risen, bent on obtaining their freedom, and the mulattoes on securing their privileges—these were crimes, in the estimation of the colonists, never to be forgiven. Slavery or destruction, was the demand of the planters; liberty or death, the determination of the insurgents. The disregard of the former to their claims—the repeated refusal to grant them redress, or to allow their condition to be in any degree ameliorated—with the violence of the measures pursued in order to subdue them, served only to render them more desperate and formidable. Neither their scanty resources on the one hand, nor the strong opposition which they met with on the other, could shake their resolution, or diminish their thirst for revenge. But animated by their numbers, and growing increasingly fierce by their ravages, an occasional defeat caused only a momentary check, before the flame broke forth in all its fury. Then it was, that St. Domingo became the scene of the most dreadful ravages, and of massacres as horrid as the world has ever witnessed.

Had the planters, in the commencement of these insurrections, adopted conciliatory measures; had they listened to just complaints and reasonable demands, they would, in all probability, have softened down their destroyers, and have stopped the tide of human blood which now flowed over every part of the colony. The revolters, it should be remembered, did not engage in this work of destruction because their liberty was granted, but because it was denied them. They did not murder the whites because the latter showed a disposition to lessen their toils and sufferings, and to render their condition less grievous and degrading; or because they held out to them the prospect of emancipation at a future period; but because they evinced a determination to retain them in a state of slavery, and to subject them to all its miseries.

While these commotions were at their height, the English, then at war with France, invaded St. Domingo. The French had now two enemies to oppose—the regular and well-disciplined troops of the British army, and the revolted negroes. After several ineffectual attempts to withstand the former, the French commissioners, to whom the government of the Island had been entrusted, issued a proclamation of freedom, with a view to ensure the assistance of all the negroes. This, at the moment, was considered a dangerous experiment. It was without parallel in the history of slavery; and its effects on the negroes, under existing circumstances, could not be determined with any degree of certainty. No longer in subjection to the laws of a degrading servitude, and collected together in one body, they might easily have fallen on those who, till this time, had shown themselves their greatest oppressors. But the revolters, as well as the other negroes, instantly joined the French forces, and united with them in endeavoring to expel what they considered a common foe. For the invaders, they concluded, came not to assist them in maintaining their rights, but to drive out the French, to claim the colony, and to endeavor, at least, to re-establish and perpetuate the system which was at this moment abolished.

During the ensuing contest, the French had no reason to lament the important step they had taken. Its history furnishes the most satisfactory proofs that to the exertions of the negroes, they were principally indebted for the expulsion of the English, and their continued possession of the Island: that, in short, had they been destitute of negro soldiers, they would have thought themselves fortunate in escaping with their lives, leaving their foes in quiet possession of their richest and most important colony. Many of their bravest and most skillful leaders were selected from among them. The distinguished talents of Toussaint L'Ouverture, and the importance of his active and persevering efforts, are well known and have been duly appreciated. The zeal and bravery of Christophe, placed him next in rank and influence to Toussaint. Both were negroes, and had been slaves; but now employed their talents, and risked their lives, in defending their late masters, with the utmost ardor and fidelity.

The struggle was long and doubtful; and the sufferings of both parties, from the loss of men, want of provisions, and the diseases incidental to the climate, were severe. The negroes endured their portion; and, that it should be remembered, for the men by whom they had been enslaved, and in order that they might retain the possession and government of the Island. Nor should it be forgotten, that the French were not in circumstances to command the assistance of the negroes; especially that of those who had become open revolters. They might have refused it without danger to themselves, and have abandoned the French to their fate. But throughout the contest, there was nothing that indicated a disposition to avenge themselves of their former sufferings; nothing that occurred among them contrary to the firmest attachment to the cause of their late masters, and a zealous perseverance in opposing the enemy.

From the first arrival of the English, to the time of their quitting the Island, the relative state of the colony, with regard both to the French and the negroes, had undergone an important change. It remained in possession of France; but the manner in which it was to be governed, existing circumstances rendered totally different to any mode which had been previously pursued. The civil and military chief was not chosen from among the whites, as had been invariably the case hitherto, but was selected from among the negroes; and Toussaint L'Ouverture, on account of his distinguished talents and integrity, was raised to the most important and honorable station in the colony. Slavery being abolished, the blacks were placed on an equality with the whites. Many of the plantations remained in the hands of their original proprietors, and were to be cultivated, in future, by the labor, not of slaves, but of free men.

These were circumstances in which the negroes had never before been placed; and their character was, therefore, to undergo a further



charge of Capt. James Study. The same evening, patrols were detailed by the committee, and placed under the control and direction of Dr. Pugh, together with the regulation of the town. The patrols were on duty the whole night; vigilantly scouring the surrounding country, whilst the same discipline was kept up in the town.



Friday 3d.—The committee convened at 9 o'clock, A. M., and continued the whole day in trying the prisoners, Cotton and Saunders; who, in the course of the investigation, incriminated each other. The testimony and circumstances becoming stronger, many orders of arrest were issued, to the different squads of patrols, and the citizens urged to be vigilant.

Saturday 4th.—Cotton and Saunders convicted, and sentenced by the committee to be forthwith hanged. The populace immediately marched then to the old jail; and, fastening a rope to the grating of a window, in the upper story of the jail, and leaning a couple of rails against the wall, assisted the culprits upon the rails; then, adjusting the other end of the rope around their necks, removed the rails. They were left hanging until the next morning.

Previously to the execution of Joshua Cotton, he acknowledged his guilt, and the truth of the testimony by which he has been convicted: Availing, that he was a member of the piratical association of the notorious John A. Murrel. That he had attended several of their grand councils—the last having been held near Columbus, Mississippi.—That the plan had been conceived and plotted by Murrel; and that it embraced the slave-holding states generally. That a large number of desperate and unprincipled white men were engaged in the plan, and that they contemplated, if not the total destruction of the white population, at least the possession of most of their wealth. That he had been for two years, industriously occupied in spreading disaffection among the negroes, on every plantation he was acquainted with; and with few exceptions, there were some on every plantation, who were attached to the cause. That he, as well as all others of Murrel's clan, by particular instructions, were extremely cautious whom they assailed among the negroes; least, by confiding in too many, they might betray the trust to imbeciles; and that, consequently, they only, with great address, attempted the most ambitious and religious. That some arms and ammunition were secreted for their purpose.—That the arrest of Murrel had postponed the commencement of hostilities from the 25th of last December, to the 25th of December next. But that the disclosure made by Virgil A. Stewart, had discomfited the white insurgents, and hastened the attempt to the 4th July: on which night, the whites were to be indiscriminately butchered [with the exception of a few chosen females]; the blacks to be headed and led on, at various places, by some white desperadoes already detailed. That they calculated, that their numbers would be increased, from various causes; by some through fear, by some through hope; and by others, through disaffection; and that, gathering like a whirlwind, they would, like a whirlwind, devastate the whole country.—Implicating Ruel Blake, Dean, Donovan, Boyd, and many others, he warned the people to "beware of to-morrow and to-morrow night" [the night of the 4th and 5th] and proposed, if longer time were allowed, to develop more important information. But the committee, deeming it of infinitely more importance to check the impending storm, by immediately destroying two of the ring leaders and thereby creating dismay and panic among them, ordered their execution.

The committee adjourned until Monday morning, allowing time for the necessary arrests.

Sunday, July 5.—Parties of horsemen were hourly arriving with prisoners, and the guard-house, by Monday morning, was crowded with eighteen whites and several blacks. The alarm among the females was truly distressing, and the anxiety and excitement of the males was intense; for great apprehensions were entertained that an attack would yet be made and a rescue attempted.

Andrew Boyd who had been charged by Cotton, made a precipitate flight, on the 4th, (his arrest being ordered by the committee,) was pursued by James Dickson, Hiram Perkins, and Hiram Reynolds, with a pack of hounds trained for the purpose, from mid-day until night-fall, and from daylight the next morning until 9 o'clock, A. M.; but he miraculously effected his escape by crossing Big Black river, getting into the cane breaks, and finally eluding the dogs and the rest of his pursuers, by mounting a horse that happened in his way. He had not been heard of, up to the 28th of July, when I took my departure from Madison county.

Monday 6th.—The committee convened and renewed their painful duties.

Gregory, an old man of 72 years of age, was sentenced to be flogged and banished perpetually from the state, to depart in 48 hours.

Ferry, 50 years of age, was also found guilty and sentenced like Gregory, but to receive 150 lashes.

Lee Smith, next underwent his trial, and was sentenced to perpetual banishment from the state, to depart in 48 hours, and discharged. He was a citizen of Hinds county, and was on his departure from Lexington arrested by a party of his neighbors and neighbors, for Lynching, which is synonymous.—Several days after his discharge, the committee became possessed of evidence which deeply implicated him as a principal insurgent, and ordered him arrested wherever found. Although he had undergone one trial, and had been acquitted, nevertheless, agreeably to the principle of Slick's or Lynch's law, no man should escape punishment upon any condition, if guilty, at any time, or any place; fame, family and fortune, all quail before its powerful influence, 'tis the voice and will of the people, "vox populi vox dei."

The committee applied to the governor of the State for arms, and subsequently received a supply of muskets.

Ruel Blake having fled from the neighborhood, and the committee having ordered his arrest, a reward of five hundred dollars was made up by the citizens, and offered for his apprehension.

Dean and Donovan, the first a native of Connecticut, the latter of Kentucky, underwent their trial, which occupied part of the 6th and the whole of the 7th, and were, after the most deliberate investigation, sentenced to death, and were accordingly executed on Wednesday, the 8th, between the hours of 12 and 1 o'clock, M., denying to the last moment their guilt. I did not then hear of Donovan's writing a letter to his wife of Kentucky, and I believe it a mistake. A letter from his wife, to Donovan, was handed to the committee, which had been addressed to him long before his arrest, which upbraided him for his desperate mode of life, declaring she would never return to live with him until he also reformed.

The three Rawsons, who had been charged by Cotton as accomplices to this plot, and who had a roster of the names of the whole of the insurgents, were this day arrested by Captain Hiram Perkins and Stanford Hodge, who commanded a party ordered into Hinds county for that purpose, and were rescued by Mr. Mat Sherkie.

July 7th.—Perkins and Hodge this day reported the rescue of the Rawsons, which excited the greatest indignation against Sherkie, and the suspicion of many that he was an accomplice. This gentleman had heretofore always borne the most reputable character, is wealthy, and his family connexions numerous and influential. A scrutiny of the motives which influenced him in the rescue of the Rawsons was loudly demanded, and determined upon. But the committee, for the present, reinforced Perkins' party, and ordered the recapture of the Rawsons at all hazards.

Perkins immediately repaired to the neighborhood of Sherkie and the Rawsons, and with less prudence than valor (not strictly regarding the instructions of the committee) attempted to arrest Sherkie, who partially apprised of Perkins' intention, resorted to an outhouse in the neighborhood of his dwelling, and preparing himself with fire arms, resolved to make a determined defence. At night, fires were kindled around this house, no lights admitted inside. Perkins with his party, having discovered the place of retreat, directed their course thither, and reaching the house, swore he would arrest Sherkie, who

preparing, shot Perkins in passing a window, (which proved mortal the next day.) The fire was instantly returned, by which Sherkie had his right hand dreadfully shattered. Repeating the fire, he wounded Mr. Hodge in the thigh, and by another shot wounded Mr. Reynolds' horse, and narrowly missed him, cutting the collar of his coat; a brisk fire was kept up for some minutes, when Perkins' party retreated. Sherkie, then, with his family, evacuated the house, and the next day surrendered himself to civil authority of Hinds county. An infant of Sherkie's fortunately escaped injury, being protected from the shot which passed into the house by bed clothes and pillows which he threw over it.

A committee which had been previously organized in Hinds county for the same purposes as that in Livingston, after maturely deliberating on the circumstances which had produced this unfortunate conflict, thoroughly acquitted Mr. Sherkie of all dishonorable motives or intentions, as the following facts developed.

The Rawsons had lived in the neighborhood of Sherkie, and he had, from a long acquaintance, formed a favorable opinion of their honesty and integrity; and when they were arrested by the party headed by Perkins, a citizen of another county, and for whom he entertained an adverse opinion, and unacquainted with the peculiar circumstances which created the necessity of the arrest, his good feelings as a neighbor were elicited in their behalf, and he instantly resolved to protect, or perish with them.

Jas. Mitchell, the blacksmith, was examined, and was honorably acquitted, his services as a smith were held in requisition, which he promptly and cheerfully rendered.

Holden was also examined, acquitted, and discharged.

Hiram Hall, William Benson, Lansford Barnes, and Nicholas were found guilty in a less degree, and sentenced to banishment from the State in 48 hours.

Wednesday, 8th July.—The report of Ruel Blake's arrest at Vicksburg reached Livingston at 11 A. M., together with the lamentable news of the death of Captain Perkins, and the fear of Blake's rescue.—Mr. Albert G. Bennet was immediately despatched with a party of 30 horsemen to conduct Blake to Livingston, whom he met under escort of a party from Vicksburg, and safely conducting him on, delivered him over to the committee, who, after a short examination, sentenced him to be hanged on the 10th inst., between the hours of three and four o'clock, P. M.

The report of the proceedings at Vicksburg were this day confirmed, and were related as follows by several respectable persons:

In consideration of the alarming state of the neighborhood at and about Vicksburg, its citizens issued an ordinance that all gamblers and other suspicious persons of ill fame should forthwith quit the precincts of the town, or Slick's law would be administered to whomsoever refused. Five gamblers, North, Adams, McCall, Dutch Bill, and another, [name not recollected,] vetoed the ordinance, and betook themselves to a house, which they barricaded; and, armed with pistols and knives, prepared to defend themselves against any force which might be attempted by the citizens, which they anticipated by their preparations.

The citizens, apprised of their resolution, determined to enforce the ordinance, and after arresting to whip them from the town. The gamblers refusing to surrender, the citizens commenced to force the house, and in that attempt Dr. Bodley [a most valuable and highly respectable citizen who lived in the hearts of the community] was shot dead by one of the five gamblers.

The citizens, infuriated by the murder of their revered and enterprising comrade, returned the fire, which wounded one of the party, and rushing forward, overpowered and secured them, when, hurrying them to a convenient place of execution, without delay hanged the five. A party immediately went in pursuit of a number of gamblers, who had halted at the race ground, a few miles from the town, with the determination of hanging them likewise; but on arresting a part of them, the others effecting their escape, their lives were spared on condition of their quitting the country for ever, and being Slicked were discharged.

It appears, therefore, that these persons were not hanged on account of the profession, nor on account of their disobeying the ordinance of the citizens, but on account of their killing a worthy and favorite citizen; and by their own rashness involved upon themselves the wrath of an enraged populace.

Thursday, July 9th.—This day several men were discharged, after undergoing an examination before the committee, and others brought in to the town, and delivered over to the guard for examination.

Friday, July 10th.—At 2 o'clock, P. M., Ruel Blake was taken under guard to the Smith's shop, where his irons were knocked off. After washing his face and hands, and dressing himself neatly in a suit of white, he was conducted to the gallows, [a rude one, hastily erected by two forks sunk in the ground and a pole across,] in the centre of the town. He approached it with a steady and unflinching step. At length arriving at the foot of the gallows; and looking up, his soul seemed to tremble within at the awful journey it was about to undertake and his eyes filled with tears. He struggled to recall his scattered senses, which at length returned to his relief.—He enquired for one or two persons, and having requested them to attend to some worldly concerns, shook hands and bid them adieu. Being asked by one of the committee if he desired to say any thing publicly, he addressed the multitude in the following words:

"Gentlemen—I have but a few short moments to tarry among you, when I shall be hurried off, utterly unprepared for the journey, into the presence of the great and mighty God, shrouded with sins and imperfections; and if I was as innocent of all other sins, as I am of the charge for which I am now about to suffer, I would not, as I now do, fear the approach of death. And now, before man, (from whom I shall shortly escape,) and Almighty God, (into whose presence I must shortly appear,) I do most solemnly deny the charge which has been alleged against me, and as solemnly do I invoke the wrath and imprecations of Heaven if I am not utterly and absolutely innocent. I do not blame the committee; I believe they have been influenced by the best motives for the benefit of the community. I think the evidence adduced to them was amply sufficient to warrant my condemnation. But I am not less innocent on that account."

He called upon Mr. Hatch, a divine, who officiated in his professional capacity, then ascending the gallows with a firm step, seemed to throw back the folds of terror, and defy the shafts of death. The rope being adjusted round his neck, he was again asked if he had further to say; to which he replied: "No more words to protest my innocence. I bear malice towards no one, may God have mercy upon my soul! I am ready."

The individual, who was appointed to jirk loose the drop, failing to execute it, and Blake (whose face was uncovered by request) observing the failure, sprang from the scaffold, launching his soul into that terrible abyss from whence no traveller returns.

Blake was a native of Connecticut; had resided in Madison county about six years, occupied as a cotton gin maker, wheelwright and carpenter, was remarkable for industry and perseverance, by which he had accumulated some property, vested in four or five negroes, (whom he directed to be emancipated after his debts were paid,) assumed an honest appearance, but was

totally destitute of principle or morality. He was about thirty-five years of age, six feet high, well made and athletic, blue eyes, light brown thin hair, high forehead, even featured, but still a down-cast look.

July 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th.—The Committee have each day been engaged in examining prisoners, and have discharged a great many. A greater number of strangers have been seen in this part of the State than has been usual, and several respectable persons, some from Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina and Virginia, who were exploring the country, have been arrested examined and discharged. No umbrage was taken by any who were so examined, as no honest man was disposed to impede the measures adopted by the community, which the crisis demanded, and which was for the benefit of the whole.

July 15th.—Two brothers (named Earl) were brought in by four gentlemen in the neighborhood of Vicksburg, and surrendered to the guard. This evening there were few persons in the town, most having retired to their homes. A small party getting possession of one of the Earls, and with the view of compelling him to acknowledge himself guilty and to criminate others, inhumanly tortured him in the most diabolical and savage manner. The unfortunate prisoner that night hung himself with his handkerchief. This unwarrantable and shameful act was condemned by the Committee and every respectable citizen. The other Earl was arraigned before the Committee the next day, was found guilty and sentenced to be executed. Several days after my departure, Earl confessed his guilt, and criminated his brother.

The summary mode adopted by the citizens of Mississippi, to relieve themselves from the awful attempt lately made upon their peace and welfare, is not as readily admitted to be as necessary as a perfect knowledge of their real and deplorable situation would prove; and the necessity more likely he comprehended at the present crisis among the whole of the slave-holding States than any observations to elucidate them. I will only refer to the fact, that the black population there, far outnumbered that of the white. That they have no organized militia. That the country has been overrun by adventurers of all denominations, and that the efforts of justice to drag to punishment, by the civil process, the marauders that have infested her territory, have been defeated and despised.

Some excesses have been committed, and will, in all communities, but it makes the virtuous part of the community not less justifiable on that account.

It is only necessary to visit and become acquainted with the Mississippians, to be thoroughly of the opinion that they are as enterprising, intelligent, generous, magnanimous and as chivalric, as any within the limits of the United States.

From the Mayville (Ky.) Eagle, July 30.

It will be seen, by the following letter, that a young man formerly of Mayville, and the son of our respected fellow-citizen, Mr. Thomas M. Donovan, has become the victim of the excitement in Mississippi. Of his guilt or innocence, we have no means of determining, farther than his asseverations of innocence disclosed in the following extracts from a letter to his wife, which has been handed to us for publication:

LIVINGSTON, 7th July, 1835.

"I write to inform you that this is the last you may ever expect to receive or hear from me. I am doomed to die on to-morrow, at 12 o'clock, on a charge of having been concerned in a negro insurrection in this state, among many other whites. But I can say what few can say, that I can meet my God innocently. By the false accusation of both black and white, and some particularly who have come forward and sworn falsely to my prejudice, I have been condemned unjustly by their oaths. \* \* \* Now I must close by saying, before my great Maker and Judge, that I go into his presence as innocent of this charge as when I was born. I feel perfectly reconciled when the hour comes, both to face my accuser and my Eternal Judge. \* \* \* I must bid you a final farewell, hoping that the God of the widow and the fatherless will give you grace to bear this most awful sentence. \* \* \* And now, may the Lord be with you henceforth and forever. \* \* \* Farewell! farewell!"

"P. S. I was arrested on Friday the 3d, tried to-day, the 7th, and to-morrow \* \* \* The excitement is so great we are not tried by a regular jury, but by a committee of planters appointed for the purpose, who have not time to wait on any person for evidence. There are now seven or eight prisoners to be tried immediately, and they are bringing in others continually. There is one to be executed with me. Negroes are hung on the plantations. Two white men preceded me."

It is added in another hand-writing—"Seen by the Committee."

From the New Haven Herald. The Case of Abbe Dean.

Messrs. Editors,

In answer to the inquiry of "Justice" in your paper of yesterday, I would state that the citizen of Connecticut alluded to at the meeting on Wednesday, as having been tried and executed by a self constituted Committee, without the intervention of Judge or Jury, was Abbe Dean, of Thompson, in the county of Windham, son of a highly respectable inhabitant of that town. He is said to have been a young man of excellent character, and a class leader, if I mistake not, in the Methodist Church, of which his father has long been a worthy member. He was hung at Livingston, Madison County, Mississippi, (not Tennessee,) on the 8th of July last. A letter from that place dated July 7th, published in the Lexington Reporter of the 25th, thus briefly describes his fate:—"To-day Abbe Dean was tried, and will be hung to-morrow at 12 o'clock. Another man from Kentucky was also tried, condemned, and will be hanged with Dean. His name is Donovan, from Mayville. The course pursued by the committee at Livingston has been approved by other counties, who have sent deputations to that place in order to learn their proceedings, and adopt the same mode!" Another letter from Canton Grove, Miss., dated July the 9th, speaking of the horrible proceedings of the Livingston Committee, states, that Dean was hung on the day preceding. These men were executed as Abolitionists, and on a charge, as stated by Donovan, of having been concerned in a negro insurrection in that state. They both died protesting their innocence, and as it is now generally believed, even in the vicinity where these atrocities were committed, were the victims of a causeless and unfounded excitement!

Expediency.

The following just and eloquent discrimination between the expediency of the Bible and of the world, is from Dr. Cooke of Ireland.

1.—When we exhort the Churches against the doctrine of expediency, we require, as in the former case, to distinguish between the expediency of the Bible, and the expediency of the world. Our Saviour tells us, John xvii. 7, "I tell you the truth: it is expedient for you that I go away; for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come; but if I depart, I will send him unto you."

2.—The expediency of the Bible is the adop-

tion of good and lawful means for the attainment of good and lawful ends.—the expediency of the world is the sacrifice of eternal principle upon the altar of temporary convenience. It is the surrender of future safety, in barter for present repose; it is the infatuated pilotage that puts the vessel before the wind, and escapes the buffets of the storm but by running upon the lee shore and the rocks. The expediency of the Bible is guided by a sense of duty; the expediency of the world, by calculation of interest. The expediency of the Bible is guided by what God hath commanded; the expediency of the world by what men may think and say. The expediency of the Bible is to bring man up, to the standard of heaven; the expediency of the world is to lower it to the stature of men.

3.—This worldly expediency is very wise, and deals in cunning devices. It setteth up a golden idol; and, stunning us with the full concert of popular opinions—like the emperor of Babylon, with the instruments of music—it commandeth us to fall down and worship. This worldly expediency is, moreover, very cruel; and, if any neglect or refusal to fall down before its idol, it casteth him into the fiery furnace of misrepresentation, calumny, and reproach; and if he escape unscathed in reputation, in peace, and in temper, it is only because the Son of Man hath descended with him into the flame, and protected him, by his companionship, from the fierceness of the devouring element. Take warning, ye people of God, against the devices, and the promises, and the flatteries, of this truckling and time serving expediency. Hold fast by principle; follow hard after duty; and leave event to him who rules the armies of Heaven, and turneth the hearts of men as the rivers of water in the valleys.

From Dr. Franklin's Works. On the Slave Trade.

Reading in the newspapers the speech of Mr. Jackson in Congress, against meddling with the affair of slavery, or attempting to mend the condition of slaves, it put me in mind of a similar speech, made about one hundred years since, by Sidi Mahomet Ibrahim, a member of the divan of Algiers, which may be seen in Martin's account of his consulship, 1687. It was against granting the petition of the sect called Erika, or Purists, who prayed for the abolition of piracy and slavery, as being unjust.—Mr. Jackson does not quote it: perhaps he has not seen it. If, therefore, some of its reasonings are to be found in his eloquent speech, it may not only show that men's interests operate, and are operated on, with surprising similarity, in all countries and climates, whenever they are under similar circumstances. The African speech, as translated, is as follows:

"Alta Bismillah, &c., God is great, and Mahomet is his prophet.

"Have these Erika considered the consequences of granting their petition? If we cease our cruises against the Christians, how shall we be furnished with the commodities their countries produce, and which are so necessary for us? If we forbear to make slaves of their people, who, in this hot climate, are to cultivate our lands? Who are to perform the common labours of our city, and of our families? Must we not be then our own slaves? And is there not more compassion and more favor due to us Mussulmen than to those Christian dogs? We have now above fifty thousand slaves in and near Algiers. This number, if not kept up by fresh supplies, will soon diminish, and be gradually annihilated. If, then, we cease taking and plundering the infidels' ships, and making slaves of the seamen and passengers, our lands will become of no value, for want of cultivation; the rents of houses in the city will sink one half; and the revenues of government, arising from the share of prizes, must be totally destroyed. And for what? To gratify the whim of a whimsical sect, who would have us not only forbear making more slaves, but even manumit those we have. But who is to indemnify their masters for the loss? Will the state do it? Is our treasury sufficient? Will the Erika do it? Can they do it? Or would they, to do what they think justice to the slaves, do a greater injustice to the owners? And if we set our slaves free, what is to be done with them? Few of them will return to their native countries: they know too well the greater hardships they must there be subject to. They will not embrace our holy religion: they will not adopt our manners: our people will not pollute themselves by intermarrying with them. Must we maintain them as beggars in our streets; or suffer our properties to be the prey of their pillage? For men accustomed to slavery will not work for a livelihood when not compelled. And what is there so pitiable in their present condition? Were they not slaves in their own countries? Are not Spain, Portugal, France, and the Italian states, governed by despots, who hold all their subjects in slavery, without exception? Even England treats her sailors as slaves; for they are, whenever the government pleases, seized and confined in ships of war, condemned not only to work, but to fight for small wages, or a mere subsistence, not better than our slaves are allowed by us. Is their condition then made worse by their falling into our hands? No: they have only exchanged one slavery for another; and I may say a better: for here they are brought into a land where the sun of Islamism gives forth its light, and shines in full splendor, and they have an opportunity of making themselves acquainted with the true doctrine, and thereby save their immortal souls.—Those who remain at home, have not that happiness. Sending the slaves home, then, would be sending them out of light into darkness.

"I repeat the question, what is to be done with them? I have heard it suggested, that they may be planted in the wilderness, where there is plenty of land for them to subsist on, and where they may flourish as a free state. But they are, I doubt, too little disposed to labor without compulsions, as well as too ignorant to establish good government; and the wild Arabs would soon molest and destroy, or again enslave them. While serving us, we take care to provide them with every thing; and they are treated with humanity. The laborers in their own countries are, as I am informed, worse fed, lodged, and clothed. The condition of the poor, of them is therefore already mended, and requires no further improvement. Here their lives are in safety. They are not liable to be impressed for soldiers, and forced to cut one another's Christian throats, as in the wars of their own countries.—If some of the religious mad bigots, who now tease us with their silly petitions, have, in a fit of blind zeal, freed their slaves, it was not generosity, it was not humanity, that moved them to the action; it was from the conscious burden of a load of sins, and hope, from the supposed merits of so good a work, to be excused from damnation. How grossly are they mistaken, in imagining slavery to be disavowed by the Alcoran! Are not the two precepts, to quote no more, 'Masters, treat your slaves with kindness—Slaves, serve your masters with cheerfulness and fidelity,' clear proofs to the contrary? Nor can the plundering of infidels be in that sacred book forbidden; since it is well known from it, that God has given the world, and all that it contains, to his faithful Mussulmen, who are to enjoy it, of right, as fast as they conquer it. Let us then hear no more of this detestable proposition, the manumission of Christian slaves, the adoption of which would, by depreciating our lands and houses, and thereby depriving so ma-

ny good citizens of their properties, create universal discontent, and provoke insurrections, to the endangering of government; and producing general confusion. I have, therefore, no doubt, that this wise council will prefer the comfort and happiness of a whole nation of true believers, to the whim of a few Erika, and dismiss their petition."

The result was, as Martin tells us, that the Divan came to this resolution: "That the doctrine, that the plundering and enslaving the Christians is unjust, is at best problematical; but that it is the interests of this state to continue the practice, is clear; therefore, let the petition be rejected." And it was rejected accordingly.

And since like motives are apt to produce, in the minds of men, like opinions and resolutions, may we not venture to predict, from this account, that the petitions to the parliament of England for abolishing the slave trade, to say nothing of other legislatures, and the debates upon them, will have a similar conclusion.

March 23, 1790. Historicus.

From the Pawtucket Recorder. The Safety Valve.

I AM AS MUCH OF AN ABOLITIONIST AS YOU ARE; BUT—

You may deceive many by this subterfuge and for ought I know, deceive yourselves; but God you cannot deceive; and moreover, many honest discerning persons are able to discover the true reasons why you are not decided, active abolitionists. They know, that if you were true abolitionists—if you really felt to sigh and cry for the abominations of slavery, if you "remembered those who are in bonds as bound with them," you would be active in opposing the abominable system, and in laboring for its extermination, however others might oppose it in a wrong spirit and manner. But now you are forever whispering about the manner of those who are laboring in the cause, and make that an excuse for your own inactivity. This is your "safety valve" to avoid responsibilities. First, by crying out that you are as much of an abolitionist as any one, &c. you mean to avoid the responsibility of being ranked among the abettors of slavery, for you know that slavery is very unpopular at the North; and secondly by your "safety valve," you mean to avoid the responsibility of being considered one; and thus get clear of sharing in the obloquy, reproach and persecutions heaped upon them for righteousness sake.

What do these persons do in the cause?—Why, the American Union which is a pretty fair sample of their doings in general, may answer—and a friend told me in Boston the other day, who heard their annual report, that the principle part of what they had done for the year past, consisted in having found out that two or three colored children in Boston were learning some kind of mechanical trade!

Let us put their language for a moment into the mouth of Paul, and see if it would not add very much to his Apostolic glory. "O, I am as much of a christian as any of the apostles, 'but' then I don't like their manner. There is Peter, so full of fire, that he keeps Jerusalem! all the time in an uproar. He is all the time exciting the angry passions of the opposers, and you know that is not the way to get along—for, instead of convincing the Jews, they will by such a course be more and more hardened and fixed in their wickedness." Now if Paul had talked thus, he would have talked just like these "safety valve" abolitionists, and if he had talked and acted thus, how would he have appeared in the eyes of the apostles, and how would he now appear in the eyes of all the ardent friends of our holy religion? You have only to look at the picture and see your own likeness.

But Paul was not such a christian. He shunned no responsibility, involved on account of an adherence to the truth. He did not mope, contumeliously, all manner of persecution, and indeed death itself, without shrinking. The same things were laid to his charge, that are now laid to the charge of abolitionists; and yet these "safety valve" fault finding, subjunctive mood, anti-slavery men, appeal to Paul as authority for their course. O they are always in a "peck of trouble," for they are "dreadfully," "horridly" opposed to slavery and always was—but—but—but—they can't have a chance to do any thing; for Garrison is in the nation and Potter is in the village. Poor men what will they do! Why, let them go to the South! They need not be afraid of being lynched for having opposed slavery at the North, for they have spent most of their breath in finding fault with abolitionists—and they could have no better passport among man stealers than the knowledge of the fact, that they have done so. I say then brethren "why don't you go to the South" and preach against slavery! According to your own notions you are just the men to go: prudent men—cool and entirely free from fanaticism; and moreover, I have no doubt but what the American Union will give you a letter of recommendation to Gov. McDuffie. But to be serious, the conduct of these "safety valve" anti-slavery men is most diabolically wicked. They live by finding fault with those who are trying to do the will of God, which they dare not do themselves for fear of some personal disadvantageous consequences.

From Zion's Watchman. What is a Fanatic?

I am a plain man, without much book learning, and when I meet with a word I do not exactly understand, as I often do; I have recourse to my dictionary.

Having recently met very frequently with the words Fanatic, Fanaticism, I determined, thoroughly, if possible, to know what they mean.—Perhaps the result of my investigations may be of some use, if you will publish it, as I have an opinion, that some people use words that they don't exactly know the meaning of.

Turning to Walker for the meaning of Fanatic, he says—an enthusiast. This don't help me much. Looking for Fanaticism, he says enthusiasm.—This, I must confess, posed me no little. It was as the lawyers say, *ignotum per ignotum*. The difficulty then was—what is enthusiasm? I took down father Wesley's sermons, and there I found it sure enough. In his sermon on Acts xxvi. 24, he mentions several kinds of enthusiasts. "A third" (he has mentioned two others) "a third very common sort of enthusiasm, is that of those who think to attain the end without using the means." Now if Walker be right in making these words synonymous, a fanatic is one who thinks to attain the end without using the means, or perhaps I should say—one who thinks to attain the end without using the means is a fanatic.

If this be correct, the following corollary is conclusive. All who believe slavery to be a great evil, who are as "fully convinced as ever of the great evil of slavery," and do nothing for its abolition are fanatics. Go over that reasoning again, see if it isn't sound, and if you who do nothing, have been in the habit of calling your brother who does something—a fanatic, it must have been because you didn't know the meaning of your own words.—The saddle has been on the wrong horse.

TIMOTHY.

EDWARD PATTERSON. CABINET MAKER, Walnut, between Third and Fourth Streets.



# POETRY.

## Our Countrymen in Chains!

BY J. G. WHITTIER.

"The despotism which our fathers could not hear in their native country is expiring, and the sword of justice in their reformed hands, has applied its exterminating edge to slavery. Shall the United States—the Free United States, which could not bear the bonds of a king, create the bondage which a king is abolishing? Shall a Republic be less free than a Monarchy? Shall we, in the vigor and buoyancy of our manhood, be less energetic in righteousness, than a kingdom in its age?"—Dr. Follen's Address.

Genius of America! Spirit of our free institutions—where art thou? How art thou fallen, O Lucifer son of the morning!—how art thou fallen from Heaven! Roll from beneath thy sword of death, to meet those at thy coming! The kings of the earth cry out to thee, Abol! Abol! thou become like unto us! Speech of Rev. S. J. May.

OUR FELLOW COUNTRYMEN IN CHAINS!  
Slaves—in a land of light and law!  
Slaves—crouching on the very plains  
Where rolled the storm of Freedom's war!  
A groan from Rutaw's haunted wood—  
A wail where Camden's martyrs fell—  
By every shrine of patriot blood,  
From Moultrie's wall and Jasper's well!

By storied hill and hallowed grove,  
By mossy wood and warlike glen,  
Whence rang of old the rifle shot,  
And hurrying on of Marion's men—  
The groan of breaking hearts is there—  
The falling lash—the fetter's clank—  
Slaves—slaves—a breathing in that air  
Which old De Kalb and Sumpter drank!

What, lo!—our countrymen in chains!  
The whip on woman's shivering flesh!  
Our soil yet reddening with the stains,  
Caught from her scourging, warm and fresh!  
What! mothers from their children riven!  
What! God's own image bought and sold!  
Americans to market driven,  
And hartered as the brute for gold!

Speak! shall their agony of prayer  
Come thrilling to our hearts in vain?  
To us—whose fathers scorned to bear  
The patrie's remnant of a chain;  
To us whose boast is loud and long  
Of holy liberty and light—  
Say, shall these writhing slaves of Wrong  
Plead vainly for their plundered right?

What! shall we send, with lavish breath,  
Our sympathies across the wave,  
Where manhood on the field of death  
Strikes for his freedom, or a grave?  
Shall prayers go up—and hymns be sung  
For Greece, the Moslem fether spinning—  
And millions hush with pen and tongue,  
Our light on all her altars burning?

Shall Belgium feel, and gallows France,  
By Vendome's pile and Schomberg's wall,  
And Poland, gasping on her lance,  
The impulse of our cheering call?  
And shall the slave, beneath our eye,  
Clank over our fields his hateful chain?  
And toss his fettered arm on high,  
And groan for freedom's gift, in vain?

Oh, say, shall Prussia's banner be  
A refuge for the stricken slave;  
And shall the Russian serf go free  
By Baikal's lake and Neva's wave;  
And shall the wintry-bosomed Dane  
Relax the iron hand of pride,  
And bid his tondren cast the chain  
From fettered soul and limb, aside?

Shall every flag of England's flag\*  
Proclaim that all around are free:  
From "farthest Ind" to each blue-crag  
That besties o'er the Western Sea?  
And shall we scoff at Europe's kings,  
When Freedom's wreath is dim with us,  
And round our country's altar clings  
The darning clasp of Slavery's curse?

Go—let us ask of Constantine  
To loose his grasp on Poland's throat—  
And beg the lord of Mahmood's line  
To spare the struggling Salote.  
Will not the scorching answer come  
From turbaned Turk, and fiery Russ—  
"Go, loose your fettered slaves at home,  
Then turn and ask the like of us!"

the memorial, and also that the *editor* of the journal be *expurgated*. In support of this motion, speeches were made by Steele, Smith, of S. C., and Dayton. The motion to expunge was, however, withdrawn, and the motion to return the memorial to the author, carried unanimously. This occasioned the following "expostulation," which many of your readers would be pleased to see again in print.

Yours, truly,  
J. COHEN.

A serious Expostulation with the Members of the House of Representatives of the United States. In the American Daily Advertiser, and other public papers, are inserted, with the debates of the House of Representatives of the United States, on the 28th of November last, some speeches or animadversions of two or three of the southern delegates, on the presentation of what is styled "a paper purporting to be a memorial respecting the abolition of slavery, which, in the opinion of the said delegates, and divers others, was declared to be an application unconstitutional, and of mischievous consequences, as it would only tend to render the negroes unhappy, and excite them to insurrection in those States where they were most necessary to be retained; and that even the publication of a fanatical memorial in the newspapers, might have a fatal effect in disturbing the present excellent harmony of the Union; for the people of the southern States may be led thereby to suppose, that this memorial is before Congress, and will be discussed during the present session; it is, therefore, the more necessary to undeceive them, by publishing the contrary, and by expunging the entry from the journals."

Having believed it my religious duty to address that memorial to Congress, and that in so doing I was really influenced by the catholic principle of universal good will to men, and sincerely desirous of promoting that excellent harmony of union which is founded on the solid basis of solid liberty and common right, I may acknowledge it is far from being a matter of indifference to me to find, in the above-cited publication, so little regard paid to this great fundamental of the public weal, by men chosen and entrusted to fill a station so very important, who ought and may be supposed, on a subject so interesting and of such consequence to the people, to speak their real sentiments—unbiased by any sinister purpose. I have been, therefore, led, I trust, by the same interested and Christian motives which induced me to make the application in question, to enter into a close self-examination and re-consideration of the tenor of my said memorial, lest through an ungarded warmth of zeal I might have given occasion to those not well affected to that divine precept and perfect rule of universal equity, enjoined by the highest authority, "whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so unto them," to stamp the righteous and liberal aim of my memorial with the opprobrious stigma of fanaticism; and as far as I have been capable of an impartial scrutiny, I do not find anything therein contained more justly meriting so invidious a censure than what may be found in divers publications of Congress on the same subject; some of which I have thought proper to select and bring into view, beginning with the following remarkable language of the association entered into, the 20th of October, 1774.

"And, therefore, do we for ourselves, and the inhabitants of the several colonies whom we represent, firmly agree and associate under the sacred ties of virtue, honor, and love of country, as follows:

2d Article. "We will neither import nor purchase any slaves imported after the first day of December next, after which time we will wholly discontinue the slave trade, and we will neither be concerned in it ourselves, nor will we hire our vessels, nor sell our commodities or manufactures to those who are concerned in it."

8th Article. "And will discountenance and discourage every species of extravagance and dissipation, especially all horse-racing, and all kinds of gaming, cock-fighting, exhibitions of shows, plays, and other expensive diversions and entertainments."

To the inhabitants of the Colonies. "In every case of opposition by a people to their rulers, or of one State to another, duty to Almighty God, the maker of all, requires that a true and impartial judgment be formed of the measures tending to such opposition, and of the causes by which it has been provoked, or can in any degree be justified, that neither affection on the one hand, nor resentment on the other, being permitted to give a wrong bias to reason, it may be enabled to take a dispassionate view of circumstances, and to settle the public conduct on the solid foundations of wisdom and justice. From counsels thus tempered arise the purest hopes of the divine favor, the firmest encouragement to the parties engaged, and the strongest recommendations of their cause to the rest of mankind," &c.

Address to the inhabitants of Canada.

May 29, 1735. "When hardy attempts are made to deprive men of rights bestowed by the Almighty, when avenues are cut through the most solemn compacts for the admission of despotism."

Declaration, July 6, 1775, of the causes and necessity of "taking up arms."

"If it were possible for men who exercise their reason, to believe that the Divine Author of our existence intended a part of the human race to hold an absolute property in, and unbounded power over others, marked out by infinite goodness and wisdom as the objects of a legal domination, never rightfully resistible, however severe and oppressive, the inhabitants of these colonies might at least require from the Parliament of Great Britain some evidence that this dreadful authority over them has been granted to that body."

"But a reverence for our great Creator, for the principles of humanity, and the dictates of common sense, must convince all those who reflect upon the subject, that government was instituted to promote the welfare of mankind, and ought to be administered for the attainment of that end. The Legislature of Great Britain, however, stimulated by an inordinate desire for power," &c.

Second Address to the people of England.

July 8, 1775. "Britons can never become the instruments of oppression till they lose the spirit of freedom."

Address to Ireland, July 28, 1775.

"Compelled to behold thousands of our countrymen imprisoned, and met, women, and children involved in promiscuous misery, when we find all faith at an end, and sacred treaties turned into tricks of State; when we perceive our friends and kinsmen massacred, our habitations plundered, our houses in flames."

And in the Declaration of Independence is inserted, respecting the King, as follows: "He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people. He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, al-

\* Did not Virginia and Maryland consider this to be perpetual, by their Assemblies passing laws accordingly! So may the Africans say.

ready begin with circumstances of cruelty and partly severely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy of the head of a civilized nation. He has excited domestic insurrection among us."

And here I think it may be proper to mention, that under permission of Divine Providence, the measure which both Britons and Americans had long dealt to the natives of Africa, they were in like manner suffered reciprocally to mete out to each other, by burning towns, &c., capturing their inhabitants, stowing them into galleys and prison ships, to linger under agonizing pains unto cruel death; at this stage of affairs, Congress resolve, at different times, on public fasting and prayers, where they acknowledged the superintendence of an all-wise Providence, and the obligations our nation was under to refrain from its sins, and to implore his merciful interposition, to remove those calamities from the land, and avert those desolating judgments with which we were threatened. See Journal, June 12, 1775, and March, 1776.

In a pamphlet, entitled "Observations on the American Revolution," published by order of Congress, in 1779, the following sentiments are declared to the world, viz:

"The great principle (of government) is, and ever will remain in force, that men are by nature free; as accountable to him that made them, they must be so; and so long as we have any idea of divine justice, we must associate that of human freedom. Whether men can part with their liberty, is among the questions which have exercised the ablest writers; but it is concluded on all hands, that the right to be free can never be alienated—still less is it practicable for one generation to mortgage the privileges of another."

After the laborious productions of the wisdom of this country, manifested to the world by the declarations and addresses from which the foregoing are extracted, with others of a similar nature, demonstrating the natural rights of men in so clear a manner, the following appears to have been adopted as the then faith of the nation, in the declaration of independence, the 4th of July, 1776, viz: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

At the time of entering into the solemn league and covenant, (20th October, 1774,) to vindicate the rights of man and promote national righteousness, had any one declared as their opinion, that it was of mischievous consequences, tending to render unhappy the helpless victims of despotic tyranny, and to excite insurrection, or attempted to enforce as a political creed, so detestable a position, as that happy national harmony and union depended on securing to one class of men the power and privilege of enslaving and exercising an imperious lordship over another part of God's rational creation, such person, though he might not have been stigmatized as a fanatic, would doubtless have been in danger of being proscribed as an enemy to his country, and a traitor to the common cause of equal liberty; now, feeling such a weight on my spirit, I am thereby impelled, by a sense of duty to the Sovereign of the Universe, and the dictates of humanity, to open my mouth for the dumb, in the cause of such as are appointed to destruction; and if this is fanaticism, enthusiasm, &c., may the Almighty grant a double portion to what I ever experienced, if it be his holy will! I cannot use the carnal sword for my country's defence; I believe that weapon for a Christian to be unlawful; yet I trust that I shall, with the weapons to me lawful, in the cause of my country, manifest as much firmness and stability, though it be in the exercise of one talent, as those who think themselves justified in the use of other and greater talents: and, therefore, as I do indeed feel alarmed, when I consider that the solemn professions so lately made in time of extremity and danger, and held up as the national faith, should so soon, on this important occasion, be to be regarded as mere "tricks of State," what can be thought will be the issue! May it not be considered like trifling with Omnipotence!

I crave your patience, my fellow-citizens—I am interested in the welfare of this country; but I cannot have any conception that this nation will long fare well, when after such declamations against Britain on account of the despotic measures pursued by her administration, the spirit of tyranny and oppression is suffered so readily to prevail in the councils of American rulers, to a degree in no instance exceeded by Britain; on which head I venture to appeal to the witness for God in your own breasts, which will undoubtedly show that the national iniquity is the same, whether it proceed from Acts of Convention, or receive its strength from the countenance of Congress.

Had Congress done as much toward removing this national guilt, as by the tenor of their own vote they have power to do, there is no doubt with me, but that it would at least have given a very powerful check, if not a total stop to the odious traffic, notwithstanding the plea of restriction by the Constitution of the General Government; but whether you will hear or forbear, I think it my duty to tell you plainly, that I believe that the blood of the slain, and the oppression exercised in Africa, promoted by Americans, and in this country also, will stick to the skirts of every individual of your body, who exercise the powers of legislation, and do not exert their talents to clear themselves of this abomination, when they shall be arraigned before the tremendous bar of the judgment seat of Him who will not fail to do right, in rendering unto every man his due; even Him who early declared, "at the hand of every man's brother will I require the life of man," before whom the natural black skin of the body will never occasion such degradation. I desire to approach you with proper and due respect, in the temper of a Christian, and the firmness of a veteran American freeman, to plead the cause of injured innocence, and open my mouth for my oppressed brethren, who cannot open theirs for themselves. I ask no pecuniary advantage for myself, neither post mortem pension. I feel the sweets of American liberty; I trust I am sensible of, and thankful for the favor; and am not easy to partake of mine so partially, and see, and hear, and know of my brethren and fellow "natives" being so arbitrarily and cruelly deprived of theirs, and not enter my protest. I desire to have this favor and blessing continued to myself and posterity, and cannot but view the tenure, both to myself and countrymen, as very precarious, while a plea is founded on the General Constitution, in bar of the rights of man, and the equal distribution of justice being confirmed; that the views of a righteous government would be to promote the welfare of mankind universally, as well those of other nations, as the subjects or citizens of its own; and, therefore, that it is obligatory on the United States, to prevent the citizens thereof injuring the inhabitants of Africa, as those of one State, the citizens of another; and I doubt not, in the least, if Africa was in a situation to send fleets and armies here to retaliate, but Congress would soon devise means, without violating the Constitution, to prevent our citizens from aggravating them. The almost daily accounts I have of the inhumanity perpetrated in these States, on this race of men, distresses me night and day, and brings the subject of the slave-trade with more pressure on my spirit; and I believe I feel a measure of the same obligation, that the proph-

et did when he was ordered to "cry aloud, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and show my people their transgressions, and the house of Jacob their sins." And here I think I can show that our nation is revolting from the law of God, the law of reason and humanity, and the just principles of government; and with rapid strides establishing tyranny and oppression; to prove which, I need do no more than oppose the present conduct of the nation, to that part of it which I have now brought to your view, from the former journals of Congress; and then mention the rejection the African slave-trade has at this time from the General Government; in proof of which I may refer to the condition on which Congress accepted the cession of the western territory of North Carolina, viz: That no regulation made, or to be made, shall tend to emancipate slaves!

I am concerned that the leaders of the people may not cause them to err, or strengthen them in error; the plea now is, by state legislators, as well as other classes of citizens, and even those abandoned dealers in the persons of men, that Congress authorizes the traffic, as I myself now believe you virtually do.

If your disapprobation of this trade, as a body, was publicly known to be sincere, I believe it would have a good effect; and if you are so, it is my judgment the people have a right to know and expect it from you. I am persuaded, nine-tenths of the citizens of the United States reprobate the African trade, and consider every slave imported an injury to the public; and that they repose confidence in your wisdom as guardians of the nation, to prevent its injury; and that herein you betray the trust reposed in you, which is indeed a great and weighty trust, even to do that which of right ought to be done by the nation; therefore it requires, on this very important subject, your deep and serious consideration, what you can do, so as to obtain the favor of Divine Providence to this land, which I do indeed believe will be marked with something very different, if such an inhuman traffic is continued.

Human petitions have been presented to excite in Congress benevolent feelings for the sufferings of our fellow-citizens under cruel bondage to the Turks and Algerines, and that the national power and influence might be exerted for their relief; with this virtuous application I unite, but lament that any of my countrymen, who are distinguished as men eminently qualified for public stations, should be so enslaved by illiberal prejudice as to treat with contempt a like solicitude for another class of men still more grievously oppressed.

I profess freely, and am willing my profession was known over the world, that I feel the calls of humanity as strong toward an African in America, as an American in Algiers, both being my brethren; especially as I am informed the Algerine treats his slave with more humanity; and I believe the sin of oppression on the part of the American is greatest in the sight of the Father of the family of mankind.

I hope some will excuse my inserting, in this apologetic expostulation, a few texts of Scripture as they revive—I trust there are some of our rulers who yet believe in the authenticity of the holy Scriptures; what revives now, is the declaration of our Lord, Matt. 25th chap. and 41st verse: "Then shall he say also to them on the left hand, depart from me, ye cursed, &c. They also shall answer him, saying—'When saw we thee an hungred, or athirst, or a stranger, or naked, or sick, or in prison, and did not minister unto thee?' His answer then you may read, 'Inasmuch as ye did it not to the least of these, ye did it not to me.'"

That I may not be thought to trespass on your patience on this momentous subject, after repeating my special request, that you would without delay exert your power and influence to frustrate the avaricious purpose of those mercenaries, who are perhaps now on their voyage from Liverpool to Africa, to bring to some of the southern State cargoes of innocent human beings into cruel, unconditional bondage; (the grounds I have for this apprehension, are, I believe, not unknown to some among you.) I will draw toward a conclusion, with a quotation from the Address of Congress, to the Assembly of Jamaica, dated 26th July, 1775.

"We receive uncommon pleasure from observing the principles of our righteous opposition distinguished by your approbation; we feel the warmest gratitude for your pathetic mediation in our behalf with the crown—but are you to blame! mournful experience tells us that petitions are often rejected, while the sentiments and conduct of the petitioners entitle what they offer to a happier fate."

That wisdom from above may be mercifully vouchsafed to direct the council of America, that this extensive and rising republic may be exalted by righteousness, and not overturned by pride, oppression, and forgetfulness of the rightful Ruler and dread of nations, is the prayer of an enthusiast, in a pure and uncorrupted sense, and who am both yours individually, and my country's real friend,  
WARREN MIFFLIN.

Kent county, State of Delaware,  
2d of 1st mo., 1793.

Ancient Abolitionism.

The editor of this paper had the pleasure, last spring, of spending an afternoon in company with the venerable patriarch Moses Brown, at his own house, near Providence, Rhode Island,—of hearing from his own lips, the substance of what is published below—and of seeing the oldest deed of emancipation made by a living man, now on record. Although Mr. Brown was, then, in his 97th year, his mind was active, his memory good, and his conversation truly attractive. His feelings were ardently enlisted in the cause of emancipation, and he spoke with great animation of the prospect of its final triumph.

From the Times and Independent Press.

Philadelphia, 5th Mo. 29th, 1836.

Having recently paid a visit to Providence, Rhode Island, and enjoyed the privilege of intimate intercourse with the venerable patriarch, Moses Brown, he was kind enough to consent to my having the following instrument of manumission published, which although executed sixty-three years ago, will, I doubt not, produce much benefit to the cause of emancipation, by holding up the principles of immutable justice. This document was written with all the solemnity of deep conviction, entirely uninfluenced by popular excitement, or moved by the amazement which such an act of generosity and benevolence produced at that remote period, when the rights of men were so little understood, being twelve years before Clarkson commenced his labors for the abolition of the slave-trade, and long before the public attention had been at all arrested on the subject of slavery, as a moral and political evil.

As it will, no doubt, be interesting to every reader to know how the mind of this venerable father in the truth became so much enlightened sixty-three years since, I will endeavor to give some account of his feelings, and the exercise of his mind, as nearly as I can remember them in his own words.

In the sick chamber of a very tenderly beloved friend, he had from time to time been favored with the precious visitations of Divine love, whilst he watched the progressive work of regeneration, and witnessed in her a gradual preparation for the mansions of eternal rest. After consigning to the silent tomb the remains of her he had best loved, as he was returning home, his heart was made to overflow with gratitude and praise to the God of all consolation for the condescending mercy which had been manifested during her illness, and the sweet assurance which was then granted of the happy and joyful immortal-

ity of his beloved companion. In this subdued and tender frame, the query arose in his mind, "What shall I render unto the Lord for all his benefits?" when immediately his slaves, as it were, appeared before him, and he was made sensible that to give them their freedom would be a sacrifice well pleasing to his Heavenly Father. He, therefore, determined to manumit them, but the determination was not carried into effect without many temptations from the grand adversary of all good, who produced many doubts in his mind, by reasoning against the expediency of such a measure, the loss he would sustain thereby, &c. He was, however, favored to be faithful to the openings of Divine Wisdom and Justice, and after assembling his slaves together, read to them the following document, by which they were set at liberty. That this was not the effect of a mere evanescent feeling on behalf of the colored race, but the result of the purest benevolence, founded on Christian principles, has been amply proved by his subsequent labor in the cause of this oppressed people, and the lively interest he still manifests, even at the advanced age of ninety-seven, in the efforts now making to break every yoke, and unloose the heavy burdens of hopeless bondage. In speaking of the exercises of his mind at this period, he remarked, if all slaveholders were brought down to such a tender, humble frame as I then was, there could be no more slavery. He further observed, that he never had repented of this act of justice and mercy, although many had feared that evil consequences would ensue from it, and one individual told him, that when he heard what he had done, he thought he was one of the worst of men.

Some of his manumitted slaves continued in his employ, and they all continued to treat him with respect and affection. They are deceased, but some of their descendants now live in Providence, and own property there, and they still remember Moses Brown as the benefactor of their forefathers, with gratitude.

The great object I have had in view, in the publication of this document, has been to present slaveholders with a calm and practical appeal to their feelings as men and Christians. May they "go and do likewise," and receive the same reward of peace in their own bosoms, as the earnest desire of one who can feel for the oppressor as well as for the oppressed, and would, if possible, persuade them that no evil can result from immediate emancipation. No one need fear the consequences of obeying the Divine commands, "Do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with thy God," for he is the rewarder of all those who diligently seek to do His will, in the simplicity of little children.

# COPY.

"Whereas I am clearly convinced that the buying and selling of men, of what color soever, as slaves, is contrary to the Divine will manifest in the consciences of all men, however some may another and neglect its reprovings; and being also made sensible that the holding negroes in slavery, however kindly treated by their masters, has a great tendency to encourage the iniquitous traffic and practice of importing them from their native country, and is contrary to that justice, mercy, and humility enjoined as the duty of every Christian. I do, therefore, by these presents, for myself, heirs, &c. manumit and set free the following negroes, being all I am possessed of, or am in any way interested in, viz:—Bonno, an African, aged about 34 years; Cresser, aged 32 years; Cudger, aged 27 years, born in this colony; Prime, an African, aged about 25 years; Pero, an African, aged about 18 years; Pegg, born in this town, aged 20 years. And one-quarter, being the part I own of the three following Africans, viz:—Yarrow, aged about 40 years; Tom, aged about 30 years; and Newport, aged about 21 years; and a child Phyllis, aged about two years, born in my family, she having the same natural right, I hereby give her the same power as my own children, to take and use her freedom, enjoining upon my heirs, a careful watch over her for her good; and that they, in case I be taken hence, give her suitable education; or if she be bound out, that they take care, in that and all other respects, as much as to white children; hereby expressly prohibiting myself and my heirs from assuming any further power over, or property in her. And as all prudent men lay up in times of health and strength, so much of their earnings as is over and above their needful expenses for clothing, &c., so is it my direction and advice to you, that you deposit in my hands, such a part of your wages as is not from time to time wanted, taking my receipt therefor, to put to interest and to apply it for your support, when through sickness or otherwise, you may be unable to support yourselves; or to be applied to the use of your children (if free), and if not, to the purchasing their freedom; and if not wanted for these uses, to be given in your wills, to such persons, or for such uses as you may think proper. And for your encouragement to such sober prudence, and industry, I hereby give to the first named, (the other three having good trades,) the use of one acre of land, as marked off on my farm, as long as you improve it to good purpose. I now no longer consider you as slaves, nor myself as your master, but your friend; and so long as you behave well, may you expect my further countenance, support and assistance. And as you will consider this an instrument of extending your liberty, so I hope you will always remember and practice this my earnest desire and advice that accompanies it, that you were not the liberty hereby granted to you, to licentiousness, nor take occasion or opportunity thereby to go into or practice the lusts of the flesh, the lusts of the eye, or pride on any occasion or temptation; but be more cautious than heretofore, and with love serve one another and all men, but as fearing and reverencing that Holy God who sees all the secret actions of men; and receive your liberty with a humble sense of its being a favor from the Great King of heaven and earth, who through his light that shines upon the consciences of all men, black as well as white, and thereby sheweth us what is good, and that the Lord's requirings of each of us to do justice, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with our God, is the cause of this my duty to you; be therefore watchful and attentive to that divine teaching in your own minds that convinces you of sin; and as you dutifully obey its enlightenings and teachings, it will not only cause you to avoid open profaneness and wickedness, as stealing, lying, swearing, drinking, lustful after women, frolicking, and the like sinful courses, but will teach you, and lead you into all that is necessary for you to know, as your duty to the Great Master of all men; for he said, respecting mankind universally, 'I will put my law into their inward parts, and write it in their hearts, and they shall know me from the least to the greatest;' and therefore you can't plead ignorance, that you don't know your duty to the God that made you, because you can't all read his mind and will in the scriptures, which is indeed a great favor and blessing to them that can understand and obey. But there is a book within you that is not confined to the English or any language; and as you silently and reverently wait for its openings and instructions, it will teach you, and you will be enabled to understand its language; and as you are careful to be obedient thereto, and often silently read it, you will be able to speak its language with African as well as English tongues to your poor fellow countrymen, to the glory of Him who has wrought your deliverance from slavery. To whose gracious care and protection, I commit and fervently recommend you, and bid you—Farewell.

(Signed) MOSES BROWN.

Signed, this 10th of the 11th month, 1773

in the presence of

MARY BROWN.

LEVI ARNOLD.

Received Nov. 12th, 1773, by

G. ANGELL, Clerk.

"Clerks Office of the Municipal Court of the City of Providence."

"I, Albert G. Greene, Clerk of said Court, do hereby certify, that the foregoing is a true copy of an Instrument of Writing recorded in the Records for recording Wills, &c. of the former Town Council of the Town of Providence, in Book No. 6, pages 73, &c. Where Records are now in my charge and custody as Clerk of said Court.

"In attestation whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and have affixed the seal of said Court, this 23d day of May, A. D. 1836. ALBERT G. GREENE, Clerk."

Deem our nation brutes no longer,

Till some reason you can find,

Worthier of regard, and stronger

Than the color of our kind. COWPER.